

Message Text

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ACTION EB-11

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-10 L-03 H-03

PA-04 PRS-01 CAB-09 COME-00 INR-10 RSC-01 FAA-00

DRC-01 /086 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9536

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 1151

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY INGERSOLL FROM SHOESMITH

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ETRN, PFOR, JA, CH, TW

SUBJ: JAPAN-CHINA (PRC) AVIATION AGREEMENT

REF: TOKYO 1041

1. IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR VISIT TO TAIPEI, FOREIGN OFFICE
AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRGEN OKAWARA CALLED ME JANUARY 26
TO GIVE ME FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF GOJ POSITION ON JAPAN-
PRC AVIATION AGREEMENT AS IT AFFECTS REPUBLIC OF CHINA (ROC):

2. GOJ IS CONFIDENT THAT PROPOSAL FOR WHICH IT IS NOW SEEKING
LDP APPROVAL IS ONE WHICH OFFERS BEST HOPE OF ACCOMMODATING ROC
INTERESTS. OHIRA IS CONFIDENT THAT LDP APPROVAL WILL BE OBTAINED
BECAUSE PRIME MINISTER TANAKA HIMSELF HAS GIVEN HIS FULL
SUPPORT AND ENDORSEMENT TO THIS PROPOSAL.

3. GOJ CONSIDERS THAT THIS PROPOSAL ACCOMPLISHES QTE MAJOR
OBJECTIVE UNQTE OF AVOIDING ANY CHANGE IN AVIATION RELATIONSHIP
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BETWEEN TAIWAN AND U.S., EVEN THOUGH CHINA AIRLINES (CAL)

MIGHT HAVE TO UNDERGO QTE SOME UNPLEASANT THINGS FOR TIME BEING UNQTE.

4. IT IS POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF GOJ THAT CONCLUSION OF AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH PRC CANNOT BE DELAYED ANY LONGER. UNLESS AGREEMENT IS ACHIEVED NOW WHILE ATMOSPHERE IS FAVORABLE IN WAKE OF OHIRA VISIT TO PEKING, PRC MIGHT RETURN TO PREVIOUS HARD POSITION.

5. MAJORITY OF JAPANESE PEOPLE DESIRE TO MAINTAIN QTE BUSINESS-TYPE UNQTE RELATIONSHIP WITH TAIWAN FOLLOWING NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PRC, QTE BUT IF THERE SHOULD DEVELOP INSIDE JAPAN ANY POLITICAL FIGHTING BETWEEN TAIPEI AND PEKING, THIS WOULD CREATE AN EMBARRASSING SITUATION FOR JAPANESE PEOPLE IN GENERAL AND GOJ WOULD BE FORCED TO TAKE ACTION BASED ON ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEKING. THEREFORE, UNLESS AVIATION AGREEMENT IS DEALT WITH IN REALISTIC MANNER (BY TAIPEI?), ENTIRE JAPAN-TAIWAN RELATIONSHIP MIGHT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED UNQTE.

6. AFTER HE HAD CONCLUDED HIS PRESENTATION, I ASKED OKAWARA WHETHER GOJ HAD CONVEYED THESE PARTICULAR VIEWS TO GOVERNMENT ON TAIWAN. HE AVOIDED DIRECT ANSWER, BUT SAID THAT GOJ HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH TAIPEI THROUGH VARIOUS PRIVATE CHANNELS AND THAT POINTS WHICH HE HAD JUST OUTLINED TO ME SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY TAIPEI QTE AS A MATTER OF REALITY UNQTE. HE ADDED THAT TAIPEI MUST REALIZE THAT SIX-POINT PLAN WHICH GOJ HAS WORKED OUT QTE PROVIDES SATISFACTORY TREATMENT OF TAIWAN'S PROBLEMS UNQTE. NONETHELESS, OKAWARA CONTINUED, QTE TAIWAN'S AGENTS HERE UNQTE ARE MANEUVERING ACTIVELY TO ATTEMPT TO INCREASE ITS BARGAINING LEVERAGE BY EXERTING PRESSURES ON GOVERNMENT AND LDP. HOWEVER, HE ASSERTED, GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF YIELDING TO SUCH PRESSURES AND QTE TAIWAN SHOULD NOT HAVE FALSE HOPES THAT IT CAN INFLUENCE GOJ IN THIS MANNER UNQTE.

7. I ASKED OKAWARA WHAT SORT OF QTE UNPLEASANT THINGS UNQTE CAL MIGHT HAVE TO ENDURE FOR TIME BEING UNDER GOJ PROPOSAL (PARA 3 ABOVE). ONLY SPECIFIC MATTER HE MENTIONED WAS THAT CAL WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN ITS OWN OFFICES IN JAPAN OR TICKET COUNTERS IN AIRPORTS BUT WOULD HAVE TO HANDLE SUCH MATTERS THROUGH AGENTS. CAL, HE SAID, WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DO ANY BUSINESS IN JAPAN IN ITS OWN NAME.

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8. OKAWARA, WHO SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN READING FROM PREPARED TEXT, SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA WISHED ME TO CONVEY THIS GOJ POSITION TO YOU ON A PERSONAL BASIS. HE NOTED THAT YOU WOULD BE MEETING WITH MANY ROC LEADERS DURING YOUR VISIT TO TAIPEI AND THAT YOU MIGHT BE DISPOSED TO EXPLAIN GOJ POSITION TO THEM. OKAWARA, HOWEVER, WAS CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY DIRECT REQUEST THAT YOU DO SO AND SAID SEVERAL TIMES THAT THIS WOULD

BE UP TO YOU. I, OF COURSE, WAS COMPLETELY NON-COMMITTAL ON THAT SCORE BUT SAID THAT IN ANY EVENT THIS WOULD BE USEFUL BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR YOU.

9. COMMENT: GOJ, AND MOST PARTICULARLY FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA, UNDOUBTEDLY FEELING RATHER FRUSTRATED WITH SITUATION DESCRIBED IN REFTEL AND EMBARRASSED BY INABILITY TO OBTAIN PROMPT LDP APPROVAL IN ORDER TO CLEAR WAY FOR CONCLUSION OF AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH PRC. I ASSUME THAT ROC HAS BEEN GIVING ENCOURAGEMENT TO ITS SYMPATHIZERS AND OTHER HARD-LINERS WITHIN LDP, BUT AM NOT AWARE OF ANY HARD EVIDENCE TO THAT EFFECT. IN ADDITION, AT LEAST SOME OF OHIRA'S TORMENTORS ON THIS ISSUE HAVE OTHER FISH TO FRY. AS SUGGESTED BY PRESS REPORTS THAT FUKUDA FACTION IS LETTING ITS MEMBERS DECIDE THIS MATTER FOR THEMSELVES (REFTEL PARA 3), OHIRA'S OPPONENTS AND RIVALS ARE AWARE THAT SUCCESS IN CONCLUDING THIS AGREEMENT HAS BEARING ON HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL POSITION. DESPITE THREATENING TONE OF POSITION OUTLINED BY OKAWARA, I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR HANDS-OFF POLICY ON THIS ISSUE.
SHOESMITH

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